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city, as "a centre of noble political and active economic life," was a Greek creation. Greek experiments in organizing government over large areas were only partially successful. But they paved the way for the greater and more permanent success of the Romans. Then came the Christian Church, the era of discovery and the age of invention, with modifications of old institutions and creation of new ones. But "the main questions of household economy, of city economy and of national economy, which recur again and again, all came within the cognizance of the Greeks."

Phoenicians and Carthaginians attempted to "pursue an exclusive commerce, and to keep all rivals out of the field." Hellenic freedom of commerce triumphed against the Phoenician directly, and through Rome against the Carthaginian. The Roman extended the successful application of Hellenic economics over the world. Constantinople stored up the best attainments of Hellenic principles under Roman application, till the modern nations were ready to receive them.

B. PERRIN.

Pausanias's Description of Greece. Translated, with a Commentary, by J. G. FRAZER, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London and New York: The Macmillan Co. 1898. Six vols, pp. xcvi, 616, 582, 652, 447, 638, 199.)

It is not every guide-book that appeals to the historical reviewer, nor is it every Sentimental Journey that justifies translation and commentary to the extent of six bulky volumes. But the *Periegesis* of Pausanias, in whichever quality we consider it, does both. In characterizing it as "a plain, unvarnished account by an eye-witness of the state of Greece in the second century of our era," Mr. Frazer tells but half the truth. It is all that and much more. Between the lines of the old traveller's note-book and in his wide-ranging digressions we read the whole story of the mightier Hellas which had long since passed away.

It must have been near the middle of the second century when the Lydian Greek, reared in the shadow of Mt. Sipylus and steeped in the myths and memories of his race, set his face toward the fatherland across the Aegean. Already well travelled in the East, he proposed now "to describe the whole of Greece" (or rather "all things Greek")—evidently intending to confine his view to the mainland, as he passes in silence the storied isles of the Aegean to jot down his first note at Sunium. Reaching Athens when Herodes Atticus was in the midst of his munificent activity (the Odeion was not yet built), he took up the great task which was to occupy him for many years. In the *Attica*, which appears to have been written and published before the rest, he is feeling his way and working out his method; then with a surer step he makes the round of the Peloponnese and returns to central Greece, where his further survey is confined to Boeotia and Phocis. Northern Greece is not included in the *Description* though the author had visited Thermopylae, whose hot springs he pronounces "the bluest water that he

ever saw." Thus the primal Hellas is not on his map nor is Dodona in his guide-book; he does not even cross the Euripus to describe the great Euboean cities of Chalcis and Eretria. Indeed, as Frazer remarks, "his book has neither head nor tail." He plunges into Attica without a word of introduction, and he breaks off abruptly with his account of Ozolian Locris.

But even so he has covered the ground of first importance, and what he has not done only enhances our estimate of his actual performance. Wherever Pausanias has blazed the way, we have a sure and usually sufficient guide; where he stops, we are left more or less in the dark. As Mr. Frazer well says: "Without him the ruins of Greece would for the most part be a labyrinth without a clue, a riddle without an answer. His book furnishes the clue to the labyrinth, the answer to many riddles." So the Germans have found at Olympia, the English at Megalopolis, and the Greeks at Lycosura, as the French are finding at Delphi and the Americans at Corinth; but perhaps the value of the clue can best be measured by those who have had to spade without it at Dodona and Delos and Eretria.

Thus, for all the perverse contention of certain Germans that Pausanias did not describe at first hand the Greece of his own time but slavishly copied from Polemo and other old writers descriptions of the country as it had been three hundred years before, the spade has amply vindicated his integrity and every new site explored adds further confirmation. Pausanias has been there, and his own eyes have seen what his pen describes. We do not need the recurring note of personal knowledge—as when at Amyclae he remarks "I saw the throne and I will describe it as I saw it"—to convince us of the fact. Of course, he should have acquainted himself with the works of earlier *periegetes* as we prepare for the tour of Greece by careful study of Leake and Curtius and Tozer, if we cannot carry them with us; and yet our editor shows by a detailed comparison that "the existing fragments of Polemo hardly justify us in supposing that Pausanias was acquainted" even with this the greatest of his predecessors.

As a "description of Greece," then, the work is Pausanias's own, the plain matter-of-fact record of a plodding painstaking observer who takes his bearings; measures his distances; charts every mountain, stream and town; locates every theatre and temple; and describes or at least mentions every statue and picture that is "worth seeing." To the ordinary reader all this is tiresome enough; he longs for a bit of scenery, for a breath of life, as when (and it is all too rarely) Pausanias turns from the monuments of the past to remark that: "The women of Patrae are twice as many as the men, and more charming women are nowhere to be seen. Most of them earn their livelihood by the fine flax that grows in Elis; for they weave it into nets for their hair and dresses" (vii, 21, 7); and, a little further on, "beside the river is a grove of plane-trees, most of which are hollow with age, and so big that people picnic in their hollow trunks, ay, and sleep there too if they have a mind."

But the explorer, to whom mountain and plain and river and forest still speak for themselves as the crabbed Greek of Pausanias never could have spoken for them, takes kindly to the old traveller's method and finds his dull topography and his catalogue of monuments above all price. Thanks to him, he can exactly locate the buried cities and theatres and temples; ay, and he knows where to look for the bases at least of nearly three thousand statues bearing the signature of some one hundred and fifty sculptors.

But Pausanias gives us much more than topography and monuments, much more than an eye-witness account of the Greece of his own time. For in the old Dryasdust there was a vein of sentiment and a strain of patriotism to which "all things Greek" appealed. He could not stop with his card-catalogue. Of myth and ritual, of legend and folk-lore, his pages are full; every temple has its cult, every monument its story, and all that may piously be told he tells. This is a trite observation; but few perhaps realize how much of solid history is bound up in the *Description of Greece*. Not to speak of the historical digressions (notably in the *Attica* and the *Phocis*), the continuous historical introduction takes up one-third of the *Laconia*, more than half of the *Achaia*, and four-fifths of the *Messenia*. Here, of course, Pausanias is drawing largely upon literary sources; and where these are lost (as in the case of Messenia) he becomes an ultimate if not an unquestioned authority. So his vivid story of the Celtic incursions not only stirs the blood but it fills a gap in history. Withal the old pedant more than once forgets himself in the patriot—a character of which we already begin to be conscious as we follow him from the Dipylon to the Academy along that street of soldiers' graves and see him stop to make a note like this: "Here are buried Conon and Timotheus, a glorious father and a glorious son, like Miltiades and Cimon before them." But the patriot has learned many a sad lesson when, in summing up Achaean history, he tells us how "like a fresh shoot on a blasted and withered trunk, the Achaean League rose on the ruins of Greece."

If our estimate of Pausanias is just, the wonder is not that he has now found an editor as patient and painstaking as himself, but that he has had to wait so long for his coming. The nearest approach to an exhaustive commentary hitherto is Leake's *Travels in Greece*—a monumental work by a master of topography who has never yet been matched; but Leake travelled and wrote before the revelations of the spade had fairly begun. In Curtius's *Peloponnesos* we have a more brilliant commentary, so far as it goes. But the editors proper had hardly got beyond Attica, when Mr. Frazer stepped to the front with an edition of Pausanias more complete in its way perhaps than had yet been achieved in the case of any ancient author. In this long labor of fourteen years—as long a labor, possibly, as Pausanias's own—we have everything an editor could offer us except the primary thing, the original text; and that exception we regret. We could have better spared the long appendix on "the Pre-Persian 'Temple'" (which is here reprinted), and the entire text could have been printed in the index volume without swelling it beyond the average.

In his translation Mr. Frazer has achieved a very difficult task in a masterly way. Pausanias's style is hardly as hideous as his editor paints it—"a loose, clumsy, ill-jointed, ill-compacted, rickety, ram-shackle style without ease or grace or elegance of any sort"—but it is certainly about as bad a style as any Greek, even a modern Greek, could employ. For this crabbed Greek our translator gives us idiomatic, lucid, often racy English: thus "Demosthenes never fingered a penny of the gold that Harpalus brought from Asia" (ii, 33, 4); "King Archidamus himself had a finger in the sacred pie" at Delphi (iv, 10, 3); and "when Demaratus was born his father, Aristo [who, as we are subsequently told, 'had wedded the foulest maid and fairest wife in Lacedaemon'] blurted out some silly words about the brat not being his" (iii, 4, 4). These vivacities are not unwelcome on the dusty way we travel; but there are turns we frankly detest, such as "Market Zeus," "Horse Poseidon," "Locust Apollo," "Diver-Bird Athena" and so on through the whole pantheon of epithets. Still Mr. Frazer is not seduced by his own style, but reproduces his author with substantial if not slavish fidelity, while he clears a thousand stumbling-blocks out of the reader's path. Where none but the seasoned archaeologist could find any comfort in the original, a multitude of laymen who care for Greek things may read this translation with unflagging interest and real pleasure. It ought to be accessible to such readers in a volume by itself, together with the proper index and the admirable introduction which precedes it.

The commentary which takes up four stout volumes (aggregating 2,319 pages) is nothing less than encyclopedic. It embodies a digest of the immense literature of travel, research and excavation, down to 1897, as well as notes of the editor's own journeys in Greece in 1890 and 1895. We have some 450 pages on Athens alone, 260 on Olympia, and 160 on Delphi—the last enriched by the official plan of the French excavations still in progress there, with heliograph reproductions of the Frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, and Robert's restorations of Polygnotus's famous paintings of the Capture of Troy and the Netherworld. It may be remarked, in passing, that the apparatus of plans and maps throughout the work is abundant and excellent, though as much can hardly be said for the text-illustrations. So, while the index to the translation is very full, that to the commentary is painfully meagre. Where Pausanias dismisses Mycenae with two scant pages, mainly of legendary lore, Frazer gives us seventy pages of commentary in his text and ten more in his Addenda. Not content with telling us what Schliemann and Tsountas have actually found there, he goes on to sum up the progress of Mycenaean discovery at large and to discuss the ancient civilization thus brought to light. The whole exposition is worthy of a specialist, and it shows perhaps as well as any other instance how completely our editor has mastered his material. It is indeed surprising how thoroughly he has exploited the very latest literature of his subject. Thus he avails himself of our new Bacchylides in advance of Kenyon's *editio princeps* for an excellent note (V. 390); though, with the proof of "The Youths and Theseus" in

hand, he should have mended his translation of i, 17, 3 where Pausanias's tense (ἵγρευ) is to be taken strictly as the poem shows. While he modestly confesses to "being an expert in none of the branches of archaeology," he is certainly well up in most of them; and he does not hesitate to argue the point with the accredited masters, as when he takes issue with Doerpfeld on the "Old Temple," the Enneakrounos, and the Greek stage.

Merely as a compendious record of archaeological research from the first great campaigns at Mycenae and Olympia to those now in progress at Delphi and Corinth, this work is invaluable; but it goes further and pours floods of light and learning on every topic that Pausanias touched, and their name is legion. We can refer here only to the folklore which is always cropping out in the old *periegete* and which never fails to set his editor off on excursions to the ends of the earth—as when he bags the forty-one variations of the Virgin and the Dragon tale (V. 143 f.) or the twenty-eight versions of the Clever Thief (V. 176 ff.). Readers of the "Golden Bough," in which Mr. Frazer had already devoted two volumes as bulky as any of these six to the elucidation of a single obscure Italian cult, will readily understand the zest with which he fares afield whenever game of this kind is scented.

It is to be regretted that, in another sense, he fares afield so little. You cannot well edit a traveller in your study, even though its "windows look on the tranquil court of an ancient college." The ideal editor of Pausanias should have first of all the qualification of Leake—he should have retraced every footstep of his author; but Mr. Frazer appears to have devoted seven years to his task before ever setting foot in Greece. Now we rightly insist on first-hand description in our author and we can ask no less of his editor. But here we have in his text (II. 448 ff.) an account of Rhamnus, written in the style of an eye-witness, but obviously compiled "in the still air of delightful studies" so feelingly alluded to in his preface. For on turning to his Addenda (V. 529), we read: "I visited Rhamnus 18th December, 1895, and found that the description given in the text needs to be corrected in a few points;" and he proceeds to make at least ten material corrections. Other instances occur where second-hand descriptions in the text are helped out in the Addenda by subsequent observations of his own; and some important sites (for example, Pylus and Sphacteria) he would seem not to have visited at all. Wherever he has used his own eyes, Mr. Frazer's observation is so fresh and his descriptions so charming as to deepen our regret that more of his work was not done on the spot.

Of the admirable introduction—the quintessence of the whole matter—we have left little time to speak. Nothing better has ever been written on the subject, and whoever reads it will not stop there. He will read Pausanias and find every page lit up with a "light that never was on sea or land"—the glamour which invests forever all things that are Greek.

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